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THE RACES OF BRITAIN

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NOW that several great world powers are engaged—among other things—in violently rearranging the map of Europe, perhaps more nearly on ethnological lines, we may profitably consider the racial composition of those powers themselves. Not the least of them is the wide-flung British Empire, having its center of life in the ancient island of Great Britain. We must also touch upon her companion Ireland, for they have acted and reacted on each other by partial conquest and peaceful immigration since before the dawn of history.

British ethnology has an especial appeal to Americans, since what was true of the one country in such matters was very nearly true of the other at the time of the revolution and separation. Of course, all the elements of the British islands were more perfectly fused here than there, since, even in rural England, Dr. Beddoe points out many streaks and patches of population of different and even contrasted appearance; also the Indians had added something; and we all know that there were many Dutch in New York, many French creoles in the southwest and divers other accessions of less bulk from various quarters; but even long afterward De Tocqueville—a keen and philosophical observer—could still define Americans as that branch of the English people to whom a special work had been assigned, evidently with no thought of any essential divergency. Since then we have had a great flood of unequally distributed immigration, which has repeatedly changed its source and quality; but it has left extensive areas comparatively unaffected, and, in part, it has been assimilated in other areas, often with little obvious change in the assimilating body. Of that great assimilating and determining body of American people we may still say that in language, blood, customs, laws and aspirations it is more akin to Great Britain than often happens in the case of two great independent nations. Indeed, I do not recall any instance of equal similarity on a large scale.

Language is of course an uncertain guide as to race, but it is often a clue and always significant, always a surviving record of history, lost or remembered. Now, Great Britain is conspicuously an island of three languages, not mere dialects, but completely organized, historic, distinct developments of human speech. All are of the Aryan family of languages, two belonging to the Celtic group of that family, the third to the Teutonic group and its Low-German subdivision, which includes also Dutch and Flemish. These three languages of Great

Britain are English, occupying exclusively by far the greater part of the island; Welsh, a modern remnant of old British, spoken still in the western mountains; and Gaelic, spoken in the northern mountains of Scotland, also, far west of the Welsh, in parts of Ireland and in some intervening islands. As might be guessed, these three languages are relics and records of three great waves of invasion and conquest, with intervals of several centuries between them.

Another interesting fact is the permanency of the situation above outlined, which is not substantially different to-day from what it was in the sixth century when Gildas wrote. The Saxons were then in possession of all the eastern part of England, excepting some isolated fastnesses; the Britons were west of them in the mountain country and the tracts just above and below it; the Gael were beyond in Ireland, probably also on the seaward side of the British territory; also far north in the Highlands. It will be seen that the greatest difference is in the spread of the intrusive Anglo Saxon (now English) speech, accompanied by a like displacement of race, on a great scale, though much less in degree: but these do not affect radically the general map arrangement of tongues and peoples—then newly, but perhaps finally, accomplished. There have been other great invasions and long-continued occupations of Great Britain since then—the Danish, the Norman—as there had been one before in historic times, the Roman; but none of these changed the speech of any part of Britain, except by supplying a few words for our present English vocabulary. Their changes of population, though real, are either matters of debate and uncertainty, or have dwindled, as in the case of the Danes, with the lapse of time, and in no instance present a solid mass of men so sharply marked off from their neighbors as the Welsh or the northern Gael. It is well, therefore, to bear in mind this division into three parts, English, Welsh and Gaelic, as the most conspicuous fact of Great Britain's racial and linguistic history for the last 1,400 years.

The Angles, the Saxons and cooperating tribes came chiefly, as we know, in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era; the Britons and the Gael much earlier, though the exact periods are sufficiently uncertain. Whatever the dates, these were three successive waves of blond people, no doubt including some darker elements and differing from each other more or less in kind and degree of blondness, but such as we might expect to leave a predominantly light-tinted and light-haired population in Great Britain as the total result of their successive blond overflows—if there were no counterbalancing influence that was even more important.

There certainly seems to be such an influence; for there are more dark or medium-tinted people in Britain than the positive blonds of all kinds taken together; and almost everywhere, perhaps everywhere,

the darker people are gaining in numbers on their lighter kinfolk. These facts can not be adequately accounted for by later dark immigration. Such undoubtedly occurred and indeed has not ceased even yet, but would be offset in great measure by blond immigrants other than those above mentioned. The most natural and now generally accepted explanation is that the Gael (or the first Celtic-speaking invaders) found before them a darker population, which was more numerous and also better fitted to survive and perpetuate its characteristics by reason of long occupancy and acclimatization. There can be little doubt as to the first item and surely none at all as to the second, at least so far as concerns some of the elements of those pre-Celtic people; for it is quite obvious that they would comprise the residua of all previous conquests and immigrations, except of course such temporary visitors as may have gone away again, leaving none behind, and such feeble folk as may have been utterly exterminated. Only the latter process could remove those who had penetrated far beyond the shore, and it is hardly credible in any instance in so extensive a region abundantly provided with places of refuge. In truth, the complete extirpation or removal of a race is an unknown, or excessively rare, thing in human history.

It would be important and interesting to consider the composition of this pre-Celtic population, if we had sufficient reliable materials to go upon, but, as matters stand, it will be better to content ourselves with a very brief superficial glance at the successive human waves which had reached Britain. Perhaps the earliest comers walked there, while as yet the waters had not come through the English channel nor spread out to form the North Sea. It is said that some of the earliest relics of quite certainly human anatomy and human handiwork in all the world have been found in very recent years in the low southeastern counties of Britain, which were the regions naturally first entered, and most abundantly peopled, by nearly all later comers so far as we know. To reach the period, we must count our years back by many scores of thousands, some have guessed a quarter of a million more or less. Naturally, these people were rudimentary in every way and we are always at some risk of mistaking the random stone-splinter work of nature for such poor beginnings of human tools as they have left. They must have existed among dangerous creatures and alarming natural forces by a combination of good luck and negligent sufferance, helped out by a barely human craft and embryonic industry. From that time on, through the enormous stretch of the paleolithic horizons, we may picture mankind in Britain as a grotesque procession, trampling up out of its grotesquerie, improving in bodies and in tools from age to age, though disturbed by sudden irruptions from distant regions. Some have thought that certain types of man, long conspicuous in early Britain, came from the far east, others from the hot south now known

as Africa. It can not be said that there is a regular succession of improvement in race in Europe anywhere; for some of the early types were quite respectable in their development of brain and body, while others have an abnormal and portentous look. In some instances divers anthropologists have ranked them as of different species from our own, though still quite human. What is true of Europe generally must in the main be true of Britain, although the evidence from its less ample and more remote area is naturally less abundant and complete. It seems more than likely that two or more of these very different kinds of men, of quite diverse attainments, though in no case of a very high order, would often be found in Great Britain at the same time. Perhaps few of them would correspond at all closely to any variety of man that we know until the latter part of the paleolithic age, an enormous reach of time having many stages.

There is a little evidence, perhaps not quite convincing, of strange survivals even until now. Thus Dr. Beddoe writes in his *Races of Britain*:

I think some reason can be shown for suspecting the existence of traces of some Mongoloid race in the modern population of Wales and the west of England. I have notes of 34 persons with oblique eyes, the iris is usually hazel or brown and their hair straight, dark brown, black or reddish. This type seems to be common in Wales in West Somerset and especially in Cornwall.

He has found no such instance from the east of England and "very few from Ireland," but adds:

I believe that specimens of it might easily be found in the mountainous parts of Connaught, especially on the borders of Sligo and Roscommon.

Again he says:

There is an Irish type which I am disposed to derive from the race of Cro Magnon. In the west of Ireland I have frequently seen it. It is said to be common in the Hebrides.

He cites an article of Hector McLean on this and adds:

Though the head is large the intelligence is low and there is a great deal of cunning and suspicion.

He refers also to prognathous specimens, a type often overlapping with the Mongoloid, but different, as being common in Dorset and Devon, especially toward Exmoor. He says its characteristics can not have been caused by oppression and misery, the conditions being otherwise and the average height of thirty-four of these people being five feet seven inches. He mentions also finding this type in the rougher parts of Ireland and says:

While Ireland is apparently its present center, most of its lineaments are such as lead us to think of Africa as its birth place. I believe this Africanoid type to be of high antiquity.

The paleolithic people, like nearly all later occupants, seem to have left their underground relics most plentifully in the extreme south and southeast of Great Britain. Like most others too, all varieties of them would be successively driven to the forests and mountains or even across the water to Ireland (if they could get there), and in the last resort to the wildest nooks of that island also. It will be noted that those are the very parts of both islands where Dr. Beddoe thinks he still discovers some traces of them in living men and women. But the paleolithic population at all periods and of every kind must have been scanty, for hunting and fishing will not support many people and there is no reason to suppose that they had other resources. In the rugged regions where they found refuge they would never greatly increase. Consequently their practical influence on the inhabitants of the richer parts of both islands must have been very near zero for thousands of years. So there need be no particular concern as to the finding of some supposed Negroid, Mongolian or other characteristics, alien to the white race, in individuals of sequestered mountain and moorland communities.

There is another sort of evidence, which Dr. Mac Ritchie has collected rather abundantly from tradition in a very interesting work on Ancient Britain, going to show that there were quite wild and dangerous savages, apparently remnants of some early race, running at large in the highlands of Scotland in periods very much later than that with which we deal. It will be remembered that there were similar legends, in even more exaggerated form, of prodigious folk, in the southwestern British moors and along the rougher part of the sea border. These giant-tales may preserve nothing real, but again they may record a racial memory on the part of later and more civilized occupants of those who never become inured to quiet ways, but long continued to exist in forest and mountain recesses. They seem to have nothing in common with the next occupants of the land.

So far as we can judge, the paleolithic people of whatever kind were overwhelmed by a relatively great influx of neolithic people, who were pastoral, agricultural, better organized and more advanced in every way—possibly ten, fifteen or twenty thousand years ago: it is not a matter as to which we can set dates. Sometimes they are called Picts, a name which lives both in legend and history and no doubt has sometimes been applied rather loosely to their various allies also, or to people confused with them. In Ireland the name *fir-bollig* was also applied to a great body of people who long continued to resist the conquering Milesian Gael. Doubtless they too included heterogeneous elements; but the dominant pre-Gaelic and pre-British type seems to have been on the whole the same; and to be abundantly commemorated by the long heads and dark hair of the majority of the people in both islands, characteris-

tics which belong also to what is sometimes known as the Mediterranean or Iberian race of southern Europe.

Compared with some earlier and later occupants of England, they present a gracious and winning, if not powerful, aspect. As shown by their long barrows or grave mounds, which were often provided with a stone chamber, accessible by a stone-walled passage, they were fairly tall (about five feet five or five feet six), rather slender, though not always, mild of feature, having fine small jaws, long-headed with good brain capacity and undoubtedly dark, resembling the long-headed inhabitants of Gaul. They knew nothing of any metal except gold, unless in their later stages. Yet they were able to produce so impressive a monument of industry as Stonehenge, with its great monoliths brought from a distance and neatly worked in the below-ground parts as well as those that are above ground—a feat quite impossible to any but a large settled and organized population, feeling the need of religious and political centers. Notable defensive works have also been ascribed to them; and some have supposed that the druidic system originated with them and passed on later to their successors, the Gael and Brython.

There seems no conclusive evidence of intermarriage with their predecessors; perhaps the difference in methods of living would prevent this, except in rare instances, also the sparseness of the earlier hunting population, already alluded to. There is some slight evidence of heterogeneity in their anatomy, and the burial customs differed in various regions; thus the long barrows of southwestern England contain cremated bodies; those of Yorkshire, bodies buried intact after our fashion; whereas in northwestern Scotland they are about equally divided between the two methods. But, with slight qualifications, the evidence throughout Britain seems to indicate one fairly homogeneous race, at least in the more open parts, where the barrows are generally found; and there is no great reason to doubt its general prevalency.

Much discussion has always occurred, since men interested themselves in such matters, over the Pictish language as spoken in Scotland, some fragments of which have come down to us, mainly in lists of names and inscriptions, sometimes variously interpreted or beyond interpretation. Dr. Skene and others have considered it an archaic form of Celtic; but Sir John Rhys believes it to have been originally non-Celtic and even non-Aryan, though so deeply overlaid with Celtic accretions that it has often been mistaken for a variety of Gaelic or a variety of British—as he would say of Gaulish, meaning the same thing. Elsewhere he has pointed to other slight survivals of pre-Celtic speech, notably in the first syllable of Islay, often recurring in other combinations, and divers place names all over the island which are not to be explained by any known Celtic or post-Celtic language.

After the Picts or Fir-bollig or whatever we should call them, came

at a long interval a tall race of people provided with bronze swords and spears and no doubt instructed in arts of war, perhaps also of peace, beyond their predecessors and victims. Evidently the slighter forms and especially the primitive stone weapons opposed to them, were doomed to the complete subjugation that certainly followed; although there are indications that in some regions this was delayed—remote natural fastnesses where the beaten race was packed in great numbers and held together after sufficient time had elapsed for it to acquire and become familiar with the appliances of the aggressors. But the almost complete vanishing of every intelligible remnant of the speech of the conquered people is sufficient proof that this conquest was exceptionally sweeping, thorough and unyielding.

Probably the Gael were the chief builders of the round barrows which succeeded the long barrows, as the Celtic tongue succeeded whatever was spoken before; but now we find, as we did not find in the former instance, two types of skull, the long and broad, sometimes intermixed, which is taken to show a very early partial blending; this being more likely to occur where a numerous and sedentary population was overcome and partially enslaved. Those round barrow interments were usually, it seems, of the ashes and larger bones only, cremation having taken place at some other point: but the skulls have generally remained intact, and Dr. Rolleston, who examined many of them, collected by Mr. Greenwell, declares that these bronze-age mounds have the two types of skull in about equal proportion, whereas the skulls of the pre-bronze age mounds are all long. So it seems that in the bronze period the skulls of Britain, after a great intrusion of broad headedness, were already conspicuously on the way to become, as now, chiefly long headed again. This was in spite of an additional, but relatively small, independent intrusion of dark broad heads, perhaps from across the North Sea, a type which Dr. Beddoe finds here and there in Scotland, for example, in Fife and East Lothian. But there seems no reason to doubt that the round barrows of Britain were principally the work of bronze-using Celts, and especially of the Gael; and that these were blond, large-limbed people of strong, formidable, aggressive features and some proficiency in decorative arts, metal-working and whatever pertains to success in war. It may be that their really best work was done after they had settled down in the British islands. In their later period at least, their women could spin and weave well and their soldiers went armed with steel.

Apparently they had been great wanderers, like many early people. It has been thought that their original seat was in the general neighborhood of the foothills of the Alps on both sides of that mountain barrier, notably in the upper valley of the Danube and in northern Italy. Their route may have been partly through southern France to

Galicia in northwestern Spain, thence by sea to Ireland, then to Wales, Devon and England generally; also partly across northern France to the English Channel, then across into Britain. Curiously there are less positive indications of the latter journey: but, on the other hand, the plainest relics of eastward Gaelic movement in Britain may well belong to a much later time. These are among other things, inscriptions in the Ogam alphabet, peculiar to the Gael, which are fairly plentiful in South Wales, Cornwall and Devonshire, but decrease in number to the eastward, until but one is reported from Hampshire, among the ruins of Calleva. We know of Gaelic inroads and settlements well on in historic times which took this general direction, starting from Ireland.

However they came and wherever they landed, it seems very probable that the Gael gradually won possession of nearly all Britain and Ireland, though Fir-bollig Galway at least long maintained a precarious local independence. Probably the metal weapons had even more to do with this success than their great physique and aggressive temperament. Of course the result does not imply that the earlier people all became Gaelic. It means that they had Gaelic speech and some Gaelic institutions forced upon them, or found an advantage in substituting those for their own. This Gaelic conquest occurred somewhere in the latter part of the bronze age.

The British or Brythonic invasion belonged to the age of steel weapons and may have been facilitated by a better supply of these, as the Gael in their time had defeated their darker predecessors by the superiority of bronze weapons over stone. Rhys thinks that the British Celts probably came at some time between the visit of Pytheas, who seems to have circumnavigated the island about 330 B.C. and landed on it at many points, and the incursion of Julius Cæsar about 55 B.C. Cæsar certainly found them there, but no one is quite sure whom Pytheas found. On the whole it seems most likely that the transfer of population began considerably before his time, but continued later. The last was no doubt true of the final British northward wave, the Belgæ, who were perhaps more or less modified by earlier contact with the Teutons and may have had some Teutonic strain in their blood.

It is likely that the original seat of these Belgæ and perhaps of all the British Celts was in or near Belgium; but they undoubtedly came to Britain for the most part across the Channel from the region where the great armies are now battling. Cæsar found the loosely affiliated tribes of the Belgæ in all northern Gaul or France, but no less in southern Britain from Kent to Hampshire inclusive, and observes that there was little difference between the speech of Britain and that of Gaul. Arras was the Gaulic capital of the tribe of the Atrebatæ, the elder name having been gradually worn down into the modern one; but they had also a British capital in Hampshire, which later became

the distinguished Roman-British city of *Calleva Atrebatum*: its ruins have been exhumed on the site of the modern English village of Silchester. Cæsar found the king of the *Suessiones* ruling over territory in Britain as well as territory in Gaul, and his seat of government bears still the name *Soissons*, hardly changed at all in spite of many vicissitudes and storms and bombardments. The name Britain itself has sometimes been derived from the *Brittanni*, who dwelt in the valley of the *Somme* but removed in numbers to Kent, where they would be more often visited by traders than the inhabitants of distant regions, and their tribal name might possibly come to be used for the island as a whole. Indeed at every turn familiar names crop up from this old time, though most often on the southern side of the channel, where the later hostile inroads were less sweeping and ruthless.

There were however some differences between the populations on opposite sides of the Channel, if we may believe the Latin writers of that period; as indeed there will often be in different parts of the same nation. Thus we are told that the Britons were larger than the people of Gaul, some of them being half a foot taller than most other men; that their hair was less yellow than that of the Gauls and their bodies were not so well set or handsome; that they displayed more vehemence and fierceness in combat; that they were notable for their loud clamor and for going into battle nearly unclad with swords hanging beside their naked bodies; that their wealth was in their cattle; their method of living notably simple and frugal and that they harvested their grain without threshing by cutting off the heads bodily, presumably by the use of a sickle. This method has been revived recently in the case of freshet-flooded grain.

Sometimes these writers may have chiefly had in mind the remoter non-British, or but slightly British, aborigines, as the Britons called them. Other distinctions may be local for single provinces or districts. Of course there would be much confusion between these, but, allowing for a real residuum of average British difference in physique and ways, we may still say that the Britons were transplanted Gauls—in southern Britain Gauls of the *Belgic* subdivision—and Cæsar says that their speech differed little from that of the neighboring mainland. Rhys has preferred to call them Gauls; but the name is geographically misleading and besides liable to confusion with *Gael*, which probably had the same root. More frequently the name *Brython* has been applied to them, but it is unfamiliar to most ears and may seem to savor of affectation. I have preferred the well-known term *Briton* in this paper, especially as both Romans and Saxons best knew them thereby; although in modern use it often includes all people now dwelling on the island. Perhaps we stand in need of a perfectly satisfactory distinctive term for the

British people who were not yet Romanized nor Saxonized nor Danicized nor Normanized; but we must do as we can.

Neither the Gaelic nor the British language was homogeneous, nor is so now. Each consists of at least three sub-languages, those of the Gaelic being the Erse or Irish, the Scotch Highland Gaelic and the nearly extinct Manx, spoken on the little Isle of Man; the British or Brythonic comprises the Welsh, the Breton and the hardly extinct Cornish, which has left some literature and many habitual words. The latter three differ more from each other than do the former three. Erse, Highland Gaelic, Welsh and Breton, are spoken over considerable regions and each of them breaks up into distinct local dialects. There is no reason to doubt that dissimilarity in details of population and language was the rule both in Gaul and Britain, as we know it to be still in Brittany, though there would be a fair degree of uniformity in the more advanced agricultural and trading regions. Ireland remained Gaelic in culture; so did the upper part of Scotland and some parts of the sea-coast of Wales, where the original or recently invading Gael had established a great reputation for supernatural power, perhaps implying a certain superiority in some quite human arts over the neighboring mountain Britons or Welsh. This would not, however, imply superiority over the more cultured parts of the British people in the same period.

It is difficult to make a comparison between the Gael and the Britons collectively. The former must have been more influenced and modified by the preceding neolithic people of the island; the latter by the Germanic tribes then crowding westward over the continent and mingling with all races before them. As later comers it is fair to suppose that the Britons would be the better supplied with steel weapons and other appliances: and their successful occupancy of the best parts of Britain is a corroboration. But perhaps the Gael had once been directly in contact with Mediterranean civilization and brought thence a greater aptitude and proficiency in matters of art. Of course, in both cases, it is easy to underrate or overrate the old conditions, especially as the relics in the soil of Great Britain may belong to very different periods of the developing British people.

But we have reason to believe that in the more prosperous regions there had been a considerable amount of human attainment. Cæsar refers to the number of houses and density of the population, though he also describes their towns as mere collections of wattled huts defensively walled round in the forest and mainly intended as places of refuge. However, we hear also of wooden houses; and better habitations were coming into vogue. Perhaps in the main they preferred a more isolated farming life. They built strong hill forts. They had many chariots, some of which gave Cæsar his first hostile greeting in the shallow water of the sea-coast; also he presents a vivid account of the dashing and

skilful tactics of the Britons in managing these engines of war so as to throw the Roman ranks into confusion, while the fighting men would spring off and on at will, sometimes running out along the pole of the neck-yoke and back again—the chariot being in motion. They fought, he says, in detachments, with reserves, and obtained by these vehicles in one kind of force most of the advantages of cavalry and infantry; though we know that they had both of these arms as well. In all the southern regions market centers had grown up, using copper and iron coinage, as well as gold coins in their later period, which were perhaps at their best in Essex. The Druidic system, common to them and to Gaul, was understood to have its origin and chief holy places in Britain and constituted a complex religious organization with elaborate training.

During the long period of Celtic ascendancy in Britain foreign influences were brought to bear upon the coastal country at least. Traders from Phœnicia and the Phœnician colonies of the Mediterranean and Atlantic are believed to have crept up to the ocean side; Greek civilization from Massilia and neighboring towns traveled overland across western Gaul and thence to Britain on similar errands. But perhaps neither of these nor any others stirred the islands greatly or penetrated far inland, unless in the faintest way.

The adventurous incursion of Julius Cæsar pierced more deeply. Though it did not maintain its foothold, it opened the gates, introducing Rome to the islanders and the islanders to Rome. Presently the imperial culture prompted imitation, as will happen everywhere in the human shallows a little beyond the flood of advancing civilized life, so that Cunebelline (Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*), a potentate of Essex, took heart to set up as the friend of Augustus and to prove his sincerity by aping imperial Rome as best he might. Probably some adherents came to him from regions under the Roman sway.

But before such infiltration had reached the inner parts of the island, the new domination which it foreshadowed came with a rush of arms and men, and all resistance was beaten back to the mountain lands. This Roman conquest threatened Ireland from the western shore, but the storming of Anglesea or Mona was its farthest achievement in that direction. It kept on northward to the Highlands and later pushed nearly or quite through them very briefly; but in the end it was content to stand mainly on the defensive behind a strongly occupied line of fortification still known as the Roman Wall; and to bridle western turbulence by great fortresses or legion cities distributed at points of vantage along the line of probable disturbance—Carlisle and Chester to the northward, Exeter in the southwest among the men of Devon, Caerleon near the estuary of the Severn in what we now call South Wales, and other garrisoned towns of note in the intervening spaces. The southern and southeastern seaboard had their strong

fortresses too; and later, if not at first, the exposed eastern front was systematically guarded by the forces of a count of the Saxon shore.

The Roman occupancy of Britain falls naturally into three periods: the first brutality of conquest; the long peaceful domination when there was neither war nor rumor of war except in a small way with mountain tribes on the remote border; and the era of decay when incursions became frequent and disastrous, usurpers abounded, wrangling, and year by year there grew a dread upon all of being cut off alive from the living mass of men. We remember the first period by the extravagance of cruelty which it employed and provoked—the wrongs of Boadicea and her kindred, the massacre of London; but in the fact that there were already seventy thousand immigrants from the Roman empire to be overwhelmed in that blind retribution, we may more profitably study the great change of population that was already working on British soil.

But this was no adequate measure of the incoming flood. Beside the garrisons of the wall and the legionary cities and fortresses, great colonies of veterans were planted in the open country; merchants and mariners gathered at the landing places and in the narrow streets of the growing river towns, and moneyed men from the Mediterranean, the Rhone or the Garonne took up their abode on lands newly bought or granted, building low colonnaded dwellings of open interior and mighty expansion, of elaborate baths and hot-water-heating systems, of tessellate mosaic pavements and profuse frescuing, such as have never been exactly repeated in England since their day. Of course the wealthier colonists would bring or draw dependents from the continent, with cumulative effect on the population.

Moreover, there was a steady double transforming action by the depletion of native young men, persistently shipped away elsewhere to fight Rome's battles, and the continued importation of foreign blood to fight or curb the more intractable people of Britain. There can seldom have been less than twenty thousand legionaries and auxiliaries on the island between the year 50 and the year 400, men drawn from every corner of the empire—Spaniards, Dalmatians, Burgundians, East Indians, Scythians, Syrians, Gauls and Moors. Most of them brought their families or married there; and hardly any people of the world, however unrelated or uncouth, but was summoned to aid in defending or holding Britain—and incidentally to aid in providing her future sons and daughters. At times, of course, the inflow of soldiery exceeded very greatly the figures above given; as when Agricola overcame for a time the independence of North Britain; or when Severus trampled it down again with armies out of which he lost fifty thousand men.

Of course, the effect was not equal nor nearly equal everywhere. In the towns known significantly as "of the legions"; in London which took the legionary name Augusta; in York, long the military and civil

headquarters of the island, it was necessarily great; also greater than elsewhere along the line of the Great Wall, where a continuous more than half-foreign belt of village population may well have grown up. But there were many fertile valleys and uplands which Roman troops rarely visited; many British towns which rarely saw them except as a mere incident of transit; and in all the numerous forests and marshy regions and the rougher country generally the British blood, British ways and British language most likely continued to prevail; although the people outside of the mountain land had very well learned the futility of rebellion.

The Roman rule in Britain lasted for about four hundred years. During the greater part of that time Rome kept order and maintained a fairly homogeneous civilization in all parts of the island best adapted to civilization and commerce. From end to end of the lower country and from side to side it pushed excellent roads, making transit easy; it built great sea-side and river-side embankments; it very greatly multiplied the population; it fostered a relatively great commerce; it developed cities which would be pygmies certainly to those of our century, but were well built and thriving and beautiful; it distributed widely those kinds of advancement which belong more naturally to the shores of the warm southern sea. It must have taught the native people many things—beside a more or less enervating sense of security under protection; but it has been generally credited with undermining their self-reliance, enterprise and efficiency. Perhaps the distinction between the dominant man-at-arms and the docile native citizen was insisted on too overwhelmingly and persistently. Originality in art did not thrive and the country had no literature with vigor enough to leave any trace. Moreover when the Roman legions withdrew there was difficulty in adequately filling their places, and the makeshifts were battered down at last. It is also a significant and rather wonderful fact that the long and elaborate establishment of the Roman system took so little hold upon the hearts of the subject people that a bare handful of Latin words remain from that period in the popular speech, “way,” “villa,” “camp” and “castrum”—turning at last to Chester and castle—being the instances that come most readily to mind. Perhaps the enfeebled and transformed Britons who had learned to speak a corrupted Latin either followed their masters away from the island or were killed or de-Latinized by later invaders, or took refuge in wild regions, where their language died away in the speech of those about them. Evidently the great previous development of population came to an end long before the final catastrophe and had taken to dwindling again. Possibly if the Roman soldiery had been heavily reinforced and kept at the Great Wall there might have been a northern Roumania, speaking some sort of language derived from the Latin and, like the Roumania of the south-

east, claiming descent from Roman soldiers' families. But nothing remotely resembling this came to pass.

The storming of the northern wall must have made a great stir in its time. Gildas, who is said to have been born near one end of it, and who probably wrote about 560, makes it a notable feature of his altogether too brief combination of diatribe and historic treatise. But, in point of fact, it seems to have happened repeatedly, with intervening repairs and remanning, total or partial. The same is true of fortified places behind it. Recent investigation has shown at least three demolitions and restorations of one of these, and we can fix approximately their dates by the coins lost, left and built over, but now again exhumed. The first destruction was not far from 368 A.D., the last later than the year 400. One such little hoard, dating perhaps from about 385, was found where it had been wrapped up in lead with a gold ring and hurriedly stowed away so long ago, evidently before a sudden onslaught. A coin of Honorius on the line of the wall itself indicates that this part of the work at least, was yet in Roman hands about the end of the fourth century. Perhaps the wall ceased before 407 to be an effective barrier as a whole; though its strong terminal fortresses and possibly some intervening fragments may have held out much longer. The Picts and Scots—that is, North British Highland people and the Irish—are reputed the destroyers—the latter perhaps flanking the wall with their ships at its western end, while their allies made the frontal attack which Gildas describes; but the later successful assaults at the eastern end may have come from the Teutonic assailants who soon grew more formidable. Aneurin's very old Welsh poem "The Gododin," attributed uncertainly in part to the sixth century, is interpreted by Dr. Skene to relate in its earliest section the downfall of one of the eastern fortresses of the more northern Roman wall from the Forth to the Clyde.

There is no detailed and nearly contemporary account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest. Several centuries later the West Saxons put together from their traditions a terse chronicle of the events as they understood them. Fragmentary British legends were embodied about the same time or a little later in the brief history which bears the name of Nennius. Later writers gathered other items and romanced about them. We have little else beside the indications of place names; the physical characteristics of living people in different neighborhoods; and the evidence yielded to archeology by the British soil. Of course the picture of events thus gathered is very incomplete and uncertain.

We can clearly see that both Roman departure and Teutonic inflow were very gradual. Maximus in 383 had carried a great part of the British strength southward, to compete successfully in his behalf for the imperial purple. Apparently it never returned. From that time, with

increasing menace, there must have been a gradual depletion of those who could leave.

In 402 Stilicho withdrew altogether from Britain the sixth legion, which had long been stationed at York; also the second legion, to the forts of the eastern coast near London, from Caerleon upon Usk in South Wales, which had been its settled abiding place for two or three centuries. The latter movement marks the increasing Saxon danger, since the Saxon shore became the only region guarded by regular troops in all the island. This is corroborated and emphasized by certain repairs in the fortifications then made at points along that front.

Necessarily all the north and west of England were left unguarded, or to be guarded by native volunteers and levies. No doubt the latter alternative was taken, for there is evidence that irregulars or native troops had been used for some years before to defend the wall, and the native legends and incidental references in old Welsh poetry make it nearly certain that the provincials adopted the Roman methods and organization in necessarily taking the places of the withdrawn Roman troops. The Roman generals would doubtless help them to make some provision before withdrawing. Probably as long as possible the British commanders would maintain the same headquarters. Thus more than a century later we find Arthur still making Caerleon his stronghold and capital according to Welsh tradition. It may well have come to him through a succession of commanders. Also, considerably before Arthur's time, but no doubt after the downfall of York or Eboracum, we seem to recognize Cunedda as the Duke of Britain holding command at the north.

The defense of southeastern England was soon committed altogether to the British, too. After various disorders and revolutions the sole remaining legion elected an "emperor" Constantine 3d, who, following precedent for the last time, carried it to the Continent about 407 in pursuit of his dream of empire. There must have been some provision hastily made to provide a substitute garrison. Naturally the municipal authorities of the various cities would be called upon for that duty in the first instance and their Romanized town levies would be supported by the still imperfectly Romanized or merely Celtic country people and the tribesmen of the wilder regions, these latter, however, being naturally often out of harmony with their urban comrades.

It is generally recognized that there was such a division, with resulting weakness to the defense. The wilder country people held out longest, but only in a kind of qualified barbarism. Civilization is largely an affair of cities and Roman-British civilization was trampled under the Anglo-Saxon heel.

The British cities were unequally equipped to withstand an assault or siege. London had grown up around a fortress, had been walled very

early and was walled again more amply and efficiently when danger threatened. Calleva probably was not walled at all until after the Romans departed. The circumvallation of Deva (Chester), Anderida (Pevensey) and Camulodunum (Colchester) was complete and strong from first to last. Verulam (St. Alban's), with her admirable amphitheater and many temptations to pillage, remained always open.

Their fate was equally diverse. After long beleaguering, Anderida was so utterly devastated that we are assured by the victors "there was not one Brit left." Verulam, with unknown resistance, if any, disappeared from the living world. London may have lingered on, having withstood the tide until about 585, as a mere paralyzed remnant of its former self, and the effect of its long resistance is shown in a curious prevalence of dark hair and complexion in the wedge of people behind it toward the midlands. Exeter, remote and conquered long after the conversion of the Saxons, was divided between the two races, who dwelt quite neighborly side by side.

For the conquest, though speedily effective over a large area, was, as a whole, the task of several centuries: and as we go westward the substitution of the invaders for the natives became less and less nearly complete. Indeed, it may be doubted whether it was really complete anywhere or at any time except in some very isolated, helpless and deeply hated neighborhoods.

A great rally of the Romano-Britons seems to have occurred in the first half of the sixth century, checking the conquest here, turning it back there and giving time on both sides for cooler thought, a better acquaintance with alien customs, a juster appreciation of enemies. The greatest names of this reaction are Aurelius Ambrosius and Arthur, the former very shadowy to us now, if remembered at all, but the favorite hero of Gildas and apparently of those Romano-British who were most proudly Roman; the latter, the human and efficient champion of the native or distinctively British party, but for many later centuries a monarch of myth and allegory and all emblazonings of poetic fancy. There is no need to go into the details of the various schemes which have been put forward as to his dozen campaigns and victories recorded by Nennius. They seem to have been widely spread, beginning in Lincolnshire near the east coast, including the far north and the far south and ending near Bath in a battle fought probably against Saxons who had passed in their small craft around Cornwall and come up the estuary of the Severn. As already stated, tradition gives him for capital Caerleon upon Usk, the great Roman legionary city for the Severn Valley and the west; but also another capital and stronghold normally nearer the West Saxon frontier, in Camelot, perhaps Queen Camel of Somerset.

It is apparent that the greatest slaughter generally fell upon the city folk and the dwellers in the richer and denser agricultural districts;

and that the most efficient and prolonged defense was made by those who were still hardy and little Romanized, the dwellers about the western foothills, the southwestern moors, the forest-folk, the fen-folk, the people in short who preserved most of the old Celtic and pre-Celtic blood.

It must not be supposed that the immigrants of the Roman-British centuries failed to leave any impress on the final constitution of the population; but it is apparent that the Saxon winnowing ensured in many places something like a reversion to Celtic or pre-Celtic types and ways.

During the welter of that age there was a very considerable reinforcement of Gaelic blood from Ireland, especially in North Wales and in Britain north of the wall, to most of which latter region it gave the name Scotland, strictly meaning the land of the Irish. The Gael of North Wales, both ancient and recent, were overwhelmed very shortly, however, by an eddy of Britons under Cunedda and his successors, who had found the Saxons too strong for them in the region about the Great Wall and fell on the Gael in retreating southwestward. Something like this must have taken place also in the long lower southwestern peninsula of Cornwall and Devon, where the traces of Gaelic occupancy are so plentiful and where the westward crowding of the Saxons on the steadily resisting and slowly retreating Britons was renewed at intervals until the ninth century.

We have, therefore, as a net result of the Saxon invasion and conquest, not only the total destruction of civilization in most parts of Britain and its gradual dwindling in others—but also the production in the eastern, southern and middle districts of a population rather largely, but not wholly, Saxon in the open country; farther west and in rugged places only a little Saxon on the surface, though often Saxon in speech; still farther west unreservedly British; and along the western shore partly Gaelic, though speaking British, now known as Welsh in its modern form. Ireland spoke Gaelic still—and seems to have remained as Celtic as before the Romans crossed the English channel, though there had been more or less trade between Ireland and Roman Britain.

In due time the Saxons, having been Christianized and mollified, began to work out in Britain a new civilization. It was very primitive and rudimentary compared with its Roman predecessor, but possessed elements of strength and hopefulness and aspired to a literature of its own.

Then the draught of barbarism which they had administered to the Roman-Britains in earlier times was held to their lips by those of kindred stock who had remained untaught in truly human things. The Danes and Northmen, during several centuries, ravaged the English coasts in the most pitiless manner (treating the Gael of Scotland and Ireland no better), marched their armies destructively through the

heart of the country, established themselves in great numbers at divers points and even seized the kingdom of England for a time and ruled the land. Sometimes they were beaten back with great losses, as by Alfred; sometimes they were slaughtered by the hatred of their Saxon neighbors, who rose against them. But they were not fundamentally very unlike some of these neighbors; so that the laws and customs of Saxon England may even be studied approximately in the more abundantly preserved Old Norse records, especially the Icelandic sagas. Indeed the Icelandic language, even to one who can not read it, displays a surprising number of words such as wharf, house, land, strand, which are still current among us. All told, the Scandinavian invasion chiefly affected the addition of a few words to provincial English speech and a reinforcement of the blond element in the people of northeastern England, with perhaps a slight increase there in stature and vigor.

Also the sea king inroads had driven the civilization of the island well toward the southwest, where it made a stand under Alfred, and eventually moved forward again.

Ireland, which neither Briton, Roman nor Saxon had reached, now experienced a real cataclysm from the Northmen, who broke up her very promising culture, laying waste the repositories of art and learning and making sad havoc of everything kindly and humane in life. The loss was felt very dreadfully for centuries and some features of it have never been repaired.

When at last the Danes were dislodged, England was no doubt more united and more advanced than at any earlier period since the Romans departed, and a steady gain continued under Anglo-Saxon rule, partly owing to abundant influences and immigration from the neighboring France and Normandy. But the dislodged Danes were persistent in trying to regain their seats, their very last effort—a strenuous and disastrous one—being directed against King Harold only a little before the arrival of William the Conqueror on the southern coast; so that the unhappy island hero had to hurry from his decisive victory at Stamford Bridge to his death in the ring of shields and battle axes on the crest of Senlac.

After that, the great Norman held the land too vigilantly and unflinchingly for any new invasion to be hopeful, so that the Danish episode in the life of Great Britain came to an end. It left the mountain people very nearly as the Saxons had left them, and in race at least practically little changed from even pre-Roman times: and the same was true, as in previous conquests, of many fen-lands, moorlands, forests and the like.

The Norman invasion was that of a tyrannical civilized people rather than of destroying barbarism. It came to Britain as to another Christian country under color of right, though a fraudulent color, and not in

open enmity of race or faith. Indeed, peaceful methods had already carried the conquest forward in some degree before it took on a military guise: consequently the people on both sides of the channel were again more or less alike in stock and culture. Their religious ideals and forms differed little and their political ideals were nearly allied, though perhaps the Saxon had a keener feeling for freedom—for his own freedom at any rate.

The Normans had begun as Norse vikings; but their long settled life among the French and habitual intermarrying had made them largely French in language and many things. On the other side the English had already borrowed many French words and some French ways, but still differed sufficiently to make a plain contrast between the two nations. The Norman despised and hated the Saxon as crudely boorish; the Saxon hated the Norman as aggressive, unrighteous, greedy and cruel, also despised him as vain, pretentious and given to making much of trivial things. Such inhumanity as was shown came from this clash of opinions, or the incidentally excited evil perversity of human nature, not from any settled purpose to destroy. Greed and policy, rather than wanton cruelty, were evidenced by the extensive confiscations of land or shifting of title and the many inflictions designed to keep down the vanquished. As we all know, the bitterness engendered by differences of custom, language and temperament, and much more by the oppression of the conquerors, died slowly away.

This Norman conquest, like most of its predecessors, proceeded from the southeast to the remoter quarters of Great Britain, but was very much more rapid than any other of like permanency. After the collapse of the main Saxon power below London, William still had to fight in the north before the gates of York and in the far west about the walls of Exeter; also, longer and harder than almost anywhere else, amid the marshes of Cambridgeshire, where Hereward, the persistent partizan leader, had established on the Isle of Ely his city of refuge. But there was no immediate conquest of the Welsh mountains or Ireland, though both were penetrated later, with great suffering to the natives and every kind of wastefulness. The highlands of Scotland remained Gaelic in tongue; Wales and Cornwall with some bordering territory retained their British speech and the changes of their population were very slight at first and probably only moderate afterward.

In the main body of England there were developments of language rather than linguistic revolution, a great extension of the English vocabulary by French and Latin words, chiefly introduced to answer new needs, and certain innovations in forms of speech, some of which (such as double negatives) have been only temporary in good usage; but the general character and type of the language remains unchanged.

As to racial modifications we can be even less certain than in some

earlier instances of invasion, for the conquerers themselves were very complex. They contained Germanic and Celtic elements and drew recruits from the unlatinized or delatinized Bretons no less than from the at least superficially Latinized French and peoples farther afield. It is becoming also increasingly probable that, under all these, a substratum of still older submerged races supplied and still supplies the greater and more enduring mass of the French people. Allowing for the considerable amount of Scandinavian blood among King William's Normans, it seems altogether likely that this conquest did not greatly vary the racial composition of the island people, setting minor distinctions aside. That on the whole it tended rather toward darkening the English race than lightening it in complexion may be plausibly argued from the great number of adherents which Brittany, next neighbor of Normandy, had supplied the Conquerer both before and after the invasion; also perhaps from the special favor which was soon extended to the British-speaking natives of the island, so long as they refrained from revolt. There was at least a precarious basis of good will in a common enmity for the Saxon. The Norman court and aristocracy readily seized on the historic legend of King Arthur, the Champion of Britain against Saxon invasion, and wove the most remarkable tissue of romance about it which the world has ever seen. This made unquestionably for Celtic prosperity, multiplication and immigration. But the Celt at that time as now, wherever found, was less often blond than dark, less Celtic in aspect than pre-Celtic. So that type was at least not appreciably diminished by the Norman invasion.

In later years there have been no more waves of conquest rolling over the lowlands of Britain though there have been wars and reformatations and revolutions, changing many things. As a net result, ethnologically speaking, the Gael have been pushed farther back into the northern mountains and have lost some ground in Ireland in favor of more or less Saxon and Norman invaders. On the other hand, they have peacefully invaded the English and Scotch cities and many country districts, more than compensating for any partial extirpation of their stock in seats formerly held along the western coast of Britain. There have been other immigrations and shiftings of population from time to time, but nothing that should appreciably change the racial map of that island, though the linguistic map as stated would show a progressive shrinking of the Welsh and Gaelic areas; at least until quite recent years, when special influences of expansion began to work in both cases, with doubtful final outcome.

My general conclusions are, therefore, that the racial composition of the people of Great Britain has been but moderately affected by conquests and other events occurring since the sixth century; that from a period antedating all history one of its most permanently important

racial elements has been a dark-haired neolithic race, of which we know very little indeed; that in the far north and in most parts of Ireland the Gaelic Celtic race is next important and measurably supplies language; that in the west of Britain the Welsh, or British Celtic, race takes its place, though accompanied by notable Gaelic and Saxon and some Norman elements; that the originally Teutonic races, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Northmen and Normans, now pretty well blended everywhere and only locally and doubtfully distinguishable, are conspicuous in the lowlands of Scotland, the northeast of Ireland and most of the eastern and southern lowlands of England, being in the majority in a few districts and supplying the exclusive language of both islands, except in the restricted Welsh and Gaelic areas. In Great Britain at least they have attained and held a general political supremacy, though with important exceptions, and have contributed perhaps rather more than their full share to the various activities of the island. But as their language is blended of materials from many sources woven on a low German framework, so their race is blended of constituents from many immigrations and conquests filled into a framework that is neither Saxon nor Celtic, but perhaps mainly pre-Celtic, whatever that may be.